**Where John Gates Stands Today**

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# THE MILITANT

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# Eisenhower Urges Congress To Tighten Screws on Labor

## At Auto Union Convention

## Ignores the Unemployed Asks Extension of Gov't Interference in Unions

**JAN. 28 — The President submitted his "labor message" to Congress on Jan. 23. The day before, the Labor Department reported that nearly one-third of the nation's industrial centers were suffering "substantial" unemployment. Over six per cent of the workers in these areas are idle.**

Eisenhower's proposals are designed, the President claimed, to protect the workers, "individual rights." Needless to say, however, nothing was said about the protection of the most elementary "individual right" of all — the right to a job.

In his message Eisenhower proposes to amend the Taft-Hartley law to give greater protection to employers against the "secondary boycott.' Eisenhower would prohibit a picket line — even if the overwhelming majority of the workers want to strike — against a "secondary employer" as long as the employer was not engaged in producing "farmed-out" work from a struck plant. **Thus if the majority of the workers in a plant wanted to strike against a boss who was using scab materials, the law would prohibit them from doing so. The "individual right" of one man, the boss, counts for more than the individual rights of the majority.**

Even more dangerous to the working class is Eisenhower's proposed definition of an "unfair labor practice." A union would be prohibited from picketing in demand of recognition and the workers would be prevented from designating a union as their representative where the employer has already "legally" recognized another organization or where the workers rejected the union as its bargaining agent within the last 12-month period.

**LIMITS CHOICE OF UNION**

These provisions would restrict the right of the workers to select their own bargaining agent and prohibit them from changing their minds about which union they want until after a 12-month period had elapsed.

New legislation proposed by Eisenhower, claiming to protect the workers from corrupt practices of union bureaucrats, would only extend government control over labor and open the door to court actions. The employers would have little difficulty under this plan in tying up union resources indefinitely by means of court actions.

The unions would have to submit, on penalty of criminal charges, "detailed annual financial reports, which shall be available for public examination." Of course, a union's financial records should be available for study by the union's members. **But Eisenhower's plan would open the books of the labor movement to the employers as well, enabling them to ascertain, from financial reports, the plans of the workers for organizing drives, strikes, etc.**

One can imagine the howl that would be heard from the industrialists if someone tried to open their books to public inspection, exposing their payment of fees to union-busting outfits, etc. But there is not much danger that the Administration will propose that company books should be opened for public inspection.

The way for Eisenhower's anti-labor program was paved by the Congressional "investigations" carried on during the past year by the McClellan Committee, whose majority is Democratic. Thus the offensive now being mounted against the unions is the joint activity of both Big Business parties. **To defend itself, the labor movement will have to reject the Reuther-Meany policy of kowtowing to the McClellan probers, break from the Democrats and build its own party.**

EISENHOWER

## Convict 7 in Ohio T-H Case; More Frame-Ups Planned

CLEVELAND, Jan. 28 — The recently unveiled threat to the labor movement, known as the Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" charge, became a deadly reality today as a jury here declared all seven defendants guilty. The team of attorneys assigned by the Department of Injustice to test-fire this new weapon against labor is rejoicing and mapping a host of similar trials throughout the country.

"The government will seek criminal indictments in at least six other cases involving alleged Communist conspiracy if guilty verdicts are returned in the conspiracy case in the federal court," the Cleveland Press reported Jan. 27. Word around Cleveland immediately after the guilty verdict was that the cities in which the labor movement would now be attacked were: Detroit, Chicago, New York, Portland, Seattle and Los Angeles.

Attorneys for the Cleveland defendants have already advised that they will appeal the verdicts of all seven. Sentencing is set for Feb. 14. Maximum penalties are five years, imprisonment and $10,000 fines.

The three-week trial was the government's guinea-pig experiment to find a new way of using the Taft-Hartley law. Instead of prosecuting Fred and Marie Haug, a husband-and-wife team long prominent in the Ohio labor movement, on a charge of falsely signing the T-H non-Communist affidavits, the government chose to let that indictment moulder in the files. Instead they devised a catch-all "conspiracy" indictment to involve five others, charged with such "overt acts" as talking with the Haugs or with one another, "attending a meeting," "transporting [in an auto] a person known to be a Communist," "issuing a directive," etc.

The Haugs have consistently denied that their affidavits were false. Although the government produced four FBI agents and four ex-Communists turned professional witch-hunt witnesses, only one of them gave testimony alleging Communist Party activities by the Haugs in 1950-53, the period covered by the affidavits. This witness, Fred Gardner, quit the CP in 1956 and subsequently appeared as a professional informer before various government agencies. His current career as a labor bureaucrat is also based on professional anti-Communism.

**Among union bodies that have voted support for the Cleveland T-H case are the following: Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers, Detroit; Briggs UAW Local 212, Detroit; Chicago District 1 and six locals of the Packinghouse Workers; Lake County (Ohio) Federation of Labor; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Local 500, Cleveland.**

## Winston, Green Lose High Court Smith Act Appeal

**JAN. 28 — Two of the Smith Act victims still in prison, Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, were denied a new hearing by the U. S. Supreme Court yesterday.** Despite the fact that these two men might never have been convicted if the 1957 ruling of the Supreme Court had been in effect at the time of their trial in 1949, they must stay in jail.

Both Green and Winston were given additional sentences of three years on contempt of court charges for jumping bail and hiding from the Court's unjust ruling of 1951. Both men gave themselves up in 1956. Their appeal on the contempt charges is now before the Supreme Court. A decision is expected soon.

**The Supreme Court did not try to explain its inconsistency on Smith Act convictions. It merely rejected the prisoners' appeal.**

## Big Locals Hit Reuther Gimmick

**DETROIT — The needs of the unemployed and of the rank-and-file production workers were pushed aside by the well-oiled Reuther machine at the special United Auto Workers convention held in Detroit, Jan. 22 to 24.**

This special conference, originally intended to concretize the mandate of last April's UAW convention on the shorter work week, dropped that demand and instead endorsed UAW president Reuther's "share-the-profits" scheme. It also defeated efforts of rank-and-file delegations to put teeth into the struggle against speed-up.

The opposition to dropping the shorter work-week demand was not well organized and mustered only between 10% and 20% of the approximately 3,000 voting delegates against Reuther's proposals. The vote, nevertheless, revealed a growing gap between the Reuther leadership and the rank-and-file.

**A PLACE IN THE SUN**

One pro-Reuther delegate referred to the worry among other pro-leadership delegates over how they would explain the reversal of the April decision to the membership back home. But he urged support for the Reuther proposals, saying, "If you want a place in the sun you have to expect to get blistered."

Significantly, the major opposition to dropping the shorter work-week demand came from delegates from large locals of Ford, GM and Chrysler plants.

Reuther's main backing came from smaller, scattered locals—who are much more dependent upon and more easily intimidated by the International leadership.

Had a roll-call vote been taken on the Reuther scheme, the opposition vote would have been greater than it was. For delegates from larger locals represent more members and carry up to 7.5 votes each, while those from small locals carry as few as one. However, it is only on a roll-call ballot that the representation votes are cast.

**Instead, the vote on Reu-**

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### Steel Unionists See Congress About Jobs

Presidents of Steel Workers locals getting a politician's handshake from Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson (left center) and Vice-President Nixon. Mass unemployment in steel industry led to holding of conference in Washington. There USWA President David McDonald said the prime demand for next contract would be the shorter work week with no reduction in pay.

## Venezuelan People Oust Puppet of U.S. Oil Trust

By George Lavan

**The heroic revolutionary action of the people of Venezuela has toppled the regime of Marcos Perez Jimenez, U.S. imperialism's favorite Latin American dictator.**

The struggle against the brutal military ruler of the oil-rich country reached the showdown stage when a secret political junta (committee) of all the outlawed opposition parties put out leaflets calling for a general strike to begin at noon on Jan. 21. Other leaflets, signed by the Venezuelan Student Front, appealed to students, teachers and parents for a student strike to begin the same day.

**'DOWN WITH TYRANNY'**

On Tuesday, Jan. 21 all schools from kindergartens to universities remained closed and at the appointed hour huge throngs of demonstrators entered Caracas' downtown Plaza Silencio with shouts of "Down With Tyranny." They were immediately attacked by police and troops. Fighting spread throughout the capital and casualties were especially heavy in the Catia section, a working-class district. Other revolutionary outbreaks took place in the cities of Maracay, Barinas and Cambinas. The latter two are in the oil field areas.

Though the Patriotic Junta which had called the general strike had secured some weapons, presumably from sympathizers in the army, the fighting was at first very unequal. The revolutionists fought mainly with stones and Molotov cocktails (incendiary bombs made of gasoline-filled bottles) against the police cars and tanks. **On the second day of the fighting army units began to join the revolutionists leaving only the police loyal to the dictator. Now in possession of machine guns and with the support of army units, the Venezuelans besieged the presidential palace and central police headquarters.**

By this time the military brass came to the conclusion that Jimenez' fate was sealed. It therefore tried to take over the revolution. A five-man junta, composed of Rear Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal and four army colonels was set up as the government of the country. This junta sent Jimenez an ultimatum that night. Within a few hours the dictator was on a plane en route to exile in the Dominican Republic, the bailiwick of his fellow tyrant, Trujillo.

**WANT FREEDOM RESTORED**

However, the workers and students had not sacrificed their blood in battle against the military dictatorship of Jimenez in order to tamely accept another military dictatorship. The unifying aim of the revolutionary movement was restoration of civil liberties and establishment of political democracy. The civilian Patriotic Junta refused to accept the military junta as the ruler of Venezuela.

**Admiral Larrazabal thereupon had to begin a course of concessions to the popular masses. The first step was to**

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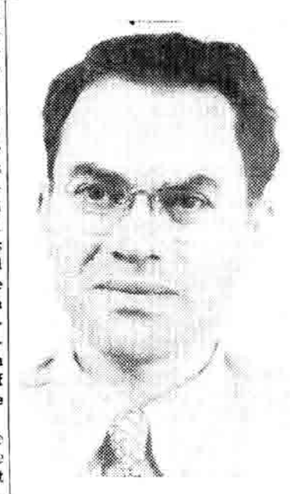
## Launch Petition Drive To Win Sobell Release

By Myra Tanner Weiss

JAN. 28 — A nation-wide petition campaign has been launched by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell asking for Executive action to free the scientist in Alcatraz prison. Thousands of people will be approached all over the country and asked to join a mass appeal to the President to end immediately Sobell's unjust imprisonment.

The terrible facts of the frame-up of Morton Sobell will be told to all who can be reached in the course of this petition drive. Sobell was sentenced to 30 years in prison in the "atom-spy" trial of 1951 that took the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. **Sobell was never accused, let alone convicted, of the theft of atom "secrets." The infamous "conspiracy" law enabled the government to get a conviction without specific charges of crime or proof that a crime was committed.**



MORTON SOBELL

Sobell and his family were kidnapped from Mexico. The prosecution then told the court that he had been legally deported, concealing evidence of Sobell's plans to return to this country. New evidence of this fact obtained by Sobell's friends has never been tested in court.

Sobell was convicted on the word of one witness alone, Max Elitcher, who feared a perjury indictment by the government. Elitcher was never arrested. He was rewarded for his testimony in court with his freedom.

The Supreme Court last fall refused to study the Sobell case despite widespread conviction that Sobell did not get a fair trial. Will justice thereby go down the drain? Will the American people permit an innocent man to waste his life in the terror prison of Alcatraz?

**Those who believe in justice will carry the fight for Sobell's freedom to the streets of the nation. Every opponent of the witch hunt will give full support to the petition drive now under way. Both petitions and the new issue of the tabloid, giving the facts of the case, can be obtained by writing to the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York City, 10, N.Y.**

IUE Local 485 presented checks of $1,000 to the NAACP's scholarship fund for each of the nine Negro students at Little Rock's Central High School. The ceremony took place at the amalgamated local's annual conference in New York.

## Communist Party Bulletin Reveals Split in Leadership

By Harry Ring

**The factional division in the leadership of the Communist Party has become so pronounced that the warring groups are now speaking of the serious danger of split in the shrunken organization.**

The scope of the crisis is graphically described in the January issue of the CP bulletin, Party Affairs, which publishes a polemical exchange between national secretary Eugene Dennis and national organization secretary Sid Stein. The debate took place at the December meeting of the National Executive Committee.

**DENNIS PRETENSE**

When the major division in the party leadership was between the Gates and Foster wings, Dennis and Stein emerged as the co-spokesmen for a "center" grouping. In the present debate Dennis continues to present himself as waging a struggle "on two fronts," that is, against what he labels "revisionism" and "ultra-leftism."

This claimed position is bitterly assailed by Stein who charges that in reality Dennis has aligned himself with Foster and Ben Davis in a drive to block the decisions of the past national convention. **He brands Dennis as guilty of trying to achieve repudiation of the convention mandate for ideological independence from the Kremlin, of now joining Foster in his stand against the CP participating in the process of socialist regroupment and of attempting to re-establish a bureaucratic control over the party.**

(The lineup in the 20-member NEC in the present struggle was indicated by an 11-to-7 vote against endorsing the November declaration of 12 Communist Parties in Moscow. Such endorsement was viewed as a repudiation of the independence mandate of the past convention. Dennis voted with the minority in favor of endorsing the declaration.)

Opening the debate, Dennis declares: ". . . generally speaking, the party remains in the critical state into which it has been plunged in the past two years . . . This . . . is in large measure due to the serious internal situation in our movement — especially to the sharp ideological division in our ranks . . . the polarization of views and alignments in the national leadership and in a number of state organizations have become so marked that the party is confronted with new fragmentation and dispersal of forces, including the very real threat of a split."

**Dennis continues: ". . . the national leadership has reached a virtual impasse in its functioning, bordering on paralysis . . . The national leadership, quite properly, has been subjected to sharp criticism by the entire membership. This criticism is directed not only at specific individuals or groupings — such as the chief spokesman of the pre- and the post-convention factional alignments — but at the whole leadership."**

He goes on to note: "We have continued to suffer from the deep-rooted evil of bureaucracy, which is not so easily eradicated. There continues to exist strong criticism by our members that leadership and membership are still separated by a gulf, that the leadership still fails to take the membership fully into its confidence, and that arrogant attitudes to the membership persist on all levels of party organization. Such complaint is unfortunately justified."

**HITS BROADER PARTY**

However, he adds, these "are not the basic cause of the critical problems in the national leadership today. This lies rather in the fundamental differences that exist between us." One such major difference he says, is with those who think the party "should freely embrace within its ranks the most diverse ideological trends, including those expressed by the Fasts, Clarks, and others who have abandoned Marxist ideology . . .

"Along with this, the right to dissent is vulgarized and distorted to such a degree as to convert the party into little more than a 'caretaker' organization, conducting a 'holding operation' pending the formation of some sort of 'broad' socialist party embracing all ideological trends."

**Instead, Dennis declares, "We must . . . carry on a more effective fight for our Marxist-Leninist ideology. And this must include the waging of a consistent polemical and political struggle against the ideological positions of such elements as the Fasts and against such groups as the Trotskyites."**

**STEIN ON SPLIT DANGER**

In a slashing reply, Stein declares ". . . the Party, as Comrade Dennis says, faces a crisis, even the danger of a split. It is necessary to be absolutely frank with ourselves and our membership in finding out how we have arrived at this situation and why we continue to remain in it as it gets worse not better . . .

"We have the responsibility for answering this question, to explain why ten months after the Party convention we are in a worse position relative to the American people than when this convention made the overcoming of the Party's isolation it's main task . . . The bitter truth is that not only is the Party isolated from the people in general at a time when the reverse should be taking place, but we are more and more isolated from the thousands of Communists who were members of this organization until quite recently but who are not members today, though they consider themselves part of the American Socialist movement."

**The twin source of the crisis, Stein points out is the continuing refusal to act independently of Moscow dictate and**

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# New Rank-and-File Workers' Group Formed in England

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

Last weekend I was in at the birth of the first rank-and-file industrial movement to spring up in post-war Britain under what is best described as Marxist influence and, largely, Marxist leadership.

For months now Britain's building workers have been feeling the brunt of the capitalist offensive. Thirty thousand of them are out of a job and another thirty thousand have left the industry because conditions are worsening. The likelihood is that unemployment will continue to grow. And on building site after building site the first victims of the bosses' offensive are the militants.

**It was to defend the militant workers from victimization, to rouse the whole industry in defense of jobs, and to put pressure on the leaders of the building trade unions to fight the bosses instead of twiddling their thumbs, that 130 workers from 49 jobs and 64 union branches gathered in conference.**

### BEHAN OPENS MEETING

The opening statement was made by Brian Behan, a 31-year-old bricklayer's laborer who has already established a reputation as a rank-and-file leader and a doughty opponent of bureaucrats of all shades. It was Behan who for months, as a member of the British Communist Party executive, waged a fight against the leaders over Hungary and over various domestic questions. He polled 188 votes at the party congress last Easter; resigned from the party; spoke up against the Stalinist and capitalist versions of the Hungarian Revolution at the Trades Union Congress; and recently joined the editorial board of The Newsletter.

Behan is the very antithesis of the smug, sleek, pompous, desk-bound Jack-in-office who is so often found in trade union head offices and district offices in Britain. He spoke to the delegates as a fellow-worker, wearing workers' clothes and using workers' language, salted with Irish wit. (It is a wit he shares with two brothers who are achieving fame in other fields: one, Brendan, is a writer of rip-roaring, Rabelaisian and from the point of view of the Lord Chancellor, England's censor, only-just-performable plays about working-class life; the other, Dominic, is a singer of folk songs who has been recorded by Alan Lomax.)

### INJECTS SOUR NOTE

Other speakers, all of them, like Behan, men from their industry's grassroots, crossed the t's and dotted the i's of his keynote speech. The only jarring note was struck by a delegate called Jack Pascoe, who is a member of the Communist Party executive, and who spoke sourly about "false voices" which were telling the workers how to fight the employers and leading them astray.

**No one had any doubt that it was the Newsletter pamphlets on sale at the conference that he was referring to; it was a pity he did not say openly whose "voices" he meant. But the fact that the Communist Party had to send its people to this rank-and-file gathering is a tribute to the deep roots that the movement for militant resistance to the employers is striking. With or without the Communist Party, the British workers are going to hit back. And among their leaders will be many who grew up inside the party, but who are now seeking real Marxism and real militancy outside it.**

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It was interesting to see in the London Daily Worker, the day after Pascoe's reference to "false voices," an article by John Williamson on the closing-down of the New York Daily Worker, in the course of which he said that "the slander that the Daily Worker was suspended to get rid of Gates" was being spread by "the capitalist press in Britain and some of the renegades from our party who are its hangers-on."

Well, well. The names of F-y-r and The N-wsl-tt-r are, needless to say, on the London Daily Worker's banned list. No writer is allowed to mention them even by implication. No doubt the ban was relaxed just the tiniest bit for Williamson (whose reports of last Easter's British CP Congress, by the way, were nothing short of scandalous).

**I for one am quite sure that if The Newsletter hadn't carried material on the New York Daily Worker's closing-down, the London Daily Worker would have felt able to get away with the tiny and almost gloating news-item it carried.**

As for the "renegades" and "hangers-on" smear, I would bet my last shilling that if some of us had gone over to Fleet Street, the British Stalinists would have been only too pleased to give the matter enormous publicity. It's the fact that we haven't that causes them chagrin and concern. I have heard from a number of areas of solemn investigations that are under way into alleged connections between various opposition-minded party members and The Newsletter. Even those who don't agree with our policy find that they have to take The Newsletter if they want to know what the Daily Worker is keeping from them!

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### LITTLE HITLERS

Here is a case in point. An important strike of dockers has just broken out in Liverpool, the great west-coast port. I cannot write very much about it this week because it has only just started, and only the bare facts are known so far. The full-time officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union have, it seems, been trying to prevent members of the other port union, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, a democratically-run body, from getting certain types of work. Various officials of the bigger union have been throwing their weight about, deciding who shall be hired, turning back members of the other union, calling them non-unionists, and generally acting like little Hitlers.

Thousands of men are now on strike in Liverpool and adjacent ports in protest against this attitude. Feeling is running high against the TGWU officials, the windows of their offices have been stoned, and pickets are out along the waterfront. Members of both unions are on strike—for many of the TGWU members are fighting alongside the "blues," as the NASD members are called because of the color of their union card.

And what has the Daily Worker, that self-styled working-class paper to say about this strike this morning, the day after it began? Nothing. Nothing whatever. Not a sentence, not a syllable, not a word. Rather than hurt the feelings of the TGWU leaders whom they are currently wooing, the Stalinists prefer to pretend that all is quiet in the port of Liverpool.

**And then they wonder why the Daily Worker Fighting Fund is so poorly supported!**


## Canadian Socialism in Shambles

From 25,000 members in 1943 to about 2,000 today — the figures dramatize the collapse of the Canadian Communist Party. Unlike the American CP, the Khrushchev revelations did not produce a protracted factional struggle in the Canadian party. Tim Buck, long-time leader of the party and faithful echo of the Kremlin, smashed the opposition quickly. But the party still fell apart. Canadian socialist Ross Dowson gives a comprehensive report of what happened in the Winter Issue of the International Socialist Review.

**Send 35c for a copy**

**International Socialist Review**

**116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.**


# How Gates Views Socialism Today

**(John Gates, former Daily Worker editor who resigned from the Communist Party Jan. 10, wrote six articles for the New York Post Jan. 20-25 entitled, "Why I Quit the Communist Party." The following report on these articles prepared by Harry Ring is presented for the information of our readers. Ed.)**

**"I did not quit the Communist Party in order to enlist in the cold war. The ideals which originally attracted me to communism seem to me the ones that give meaning to life, and they are worth trying to realize. I left the Communist Party because it no longer affords a way to further these ideals."** This statement by John Gates in the New York Post illustrates his present political viewpoint. What he has to say in the Post series is essentially what he had been saying for the past two years as a member of the Communist Party.

### INDICTS CAPITALISM

Outlining where he stands now, Gates presents an extensive indictment of capitalism as an outmoded social system. "Our society," he writes, "feels a crisis in every realm—in its moral outlook, its economic affairs, its politics . . . The fallacy and irrationality of capitalist society still lies, as I see it, in that production depends on the profit of the few rather than the use and welfare of all of us. In this fabulous new era of atomic energy, automation, and the conquest of space, production for the private profit of the few becomes incompatible with the needs of society as a whole.

**"Socialism," says Gates, "seems to me the necessary and inevitable way of resolving what is wrong with this society, while preserving what is best within it."**

Until a majority of the American people are convinced of the need for socialism, he continues, "the immediate need is for popular regulation, for control and for curbs upon Big Business. So long as the interests of Big Business dominate both political parties, such controls will not be enacted. A new political advance is needed to bring the representatives of the working people, Negro and white, the farmers, the liberal middle class into Congress itself."

On the world situation, Gates writes: "The time is now to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy and to make competitive coexistence the basis of settling all outstanding differences between the U.S. and the Soviet Union."

### FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET BLOC

Gates points to the manner of the USSR's giant industrial-scientific advance as "the most important fact about the Soviet Union." At the same time, he states, "it is far from making a corresponding political advance. The Soviet people have far to go in acquiring control over the selection of their leaders and their policies. They need freedom of discussion, and a mechanism for choosing between alternative leaders and policies."

**On the general issue of socialist democracy he writes, "To fulfill its promise, a Socialist society demands political democracy on a level higher than anything which exists in the most advanced capitalist countries."**

Of the American Communist Party, Gates says that it "has become irrelevant, and it is not my objective to spend time trying to get members of the party to leave it. That is a decision for each individual to make or not." At the same time he denies the charge that the party is a foreign conspiracy, urges defense of its civil liberties and calls for freedom for Smith Act victims Gil Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash.

Reviewing the party's history, Gates sees three positive accomplishments: the mass work of the 1930's, the support to Loyalist Spain and the support to the U.S. government in World War II.

### MASS EXODUS

Discussing the catastrophic decline of the CP over the past 13 years, he sets its 1945 membership at 75,000 and says that 7,000 may be an optimistic estimate of its present size. He doubts that there are more than a few hundred Negroes remaining in the party and says its present age level is "well in the 50's." He estimates an exodus of 10,000 members during the past two years. **This mass defection was by those who considered it impossible to thwart the Fosterite drive for a return to the pre-20th Congress line.**

### BACKGROUND OF CRISIS

While the Communist Party crisis erupted as a result of the Khrushchev revelations, Gates sees the crisis as having ". . . long, twisted roots. Though related to Soviet events, the whole story has to be taken back to 1945, and probably even further back than that, to 1919."

Concretely, Gates says, the division began to manifest itself in the party leadership during the period that he and the other Foley Square defendants were in prison. He reports that during that time his wife, Lillian Gates, who had been a leader of the New York organization, had written to him about a bitter struggle between the New York leadership and the Foster leadership in the national office.

It was during this same period in 1953, he adds, that Joseph Starobin and Joseph Clark became critical of the party line and Starobin withdrew after his proposals for a change of line were rejected. Both Clark and Starobin saw the party stand as "ultra-leftist."

**Gates continues: "These moods were everywhere. The California Communists had been in such conflicts with Foster's aides that they conducted their Smith Act defense on their own. Most of the party's trade unionists had their own bitter beefs. More and more they had lost confidence in 'the center,' as we called the national leadership."**

Gates describes the doubts he, himself, was developing about party policy while in prison and relates them to the post-Stalin developments in the Soviet Union. Recalling discussions he had in prison with Eugene Dennis and Robert Thompson, he writes: "Things were happening abroad which coincided with our behind-the-bars appraisals of the Party's work at home. Stalin had died, within a few days the 'Jewish doctors plot' was revealed as a hoax. Lavrenti Beria, the Soviet Police Chief, was executed, turning out—so it was said—to have been an imperialist spy from way back. Working people in East Berlin demonstrated against the government of which they were supposedly the backbone.

"Soviet newspapers were warning about the 'cult of the individual.' What did this phrase mean if not a retroactive criticism of Stalin himself? Dennis could not see that. If Beria were a rat, how did this jibe with Stalin's intimate reliance upon him. To Dennis the question was 'impermissible'."

At the same time, Gates saw the easing of war tensions as placing a big question mark over the party's analysis. "For the virtual inevitability of war was a key idea in our ranks; if it could be receding so fast, maybe our Party had misjudged this crucial matter. Maybe this pessimistic view of the danger of war and our estimate of impending domestic fascism—the premise on which several co-leaders had gone into the 'underground' and taken much of the Party with them—had to be re-examined."

### POLAND, HUNGARY

While there was heated discussion over these issues on his return from prison, Gates says the big division in the party leadership actually came in 1956 with the Polish and Hungarian events. **"I remember rising to speak. I said Khrushchev almost created catastrophe by trying to unseat Gomulka in Poland, that Gomulka had saved socialism in Poland . . . This Soviet intervention in Hungary, I found myself saying, is a crime, a crime it will take years to overcome. I cried out: 'For the first time in all my years in the Party, I feel ashamed of the name, Communist!' My colleagues sat with frozen faces. None of us would ever be the same again, nor could we for long continue to live in the same movement."**

Where does Gates go from here? He says he doesn't know. He does not "want to go from one sectarianism to another. The answer to the present splinters on the Left is not to form another."

### WANTS DISCUSSION

He looks to the development of a new radical movement "that will be acceptable to substantial sections of the labor movement, of the Negro people. Its Americanism will be unchallengeable. It will act within our Constitutional framework. It will not go down the dead-end street of sterile anti-Sovietism . . . Neither will it be unduly influenced by Socialist movements abroad."

**"As for my personal political plans," Gates says, "I do not profess to have all the answers. After being so certain, and dogmatic, on most of what I did for a quarter of a century, I am not inclined to make hasty decisions. I want to talk with people — those who know me and those who don't. I want to do some listening, some reflecting, some studying."**

### Parting of the Ways

Left to right, JOHN GATES, recently resigned leader of Communist Party, who had the Daily Worker pulled out from under him and put out of existence by EUGENE DENNIS and WM. Z. FOSTER.

# ...Deep Split in CP Leadership

(Continued from page 1)

**the stifling bureaucratic atmosphere within the party.**

As an example of the one side of the problem, he cites an experience of the Minnesota party. It drew up an official statement on Jim-Crow housing which Stein says was privately agreed to by Negro-community leaders. But, "The next day . . . there appeared an editorial in the Negro press charging the Party with being a Soviet agent and damning it for getting into this struggle. This experience has been duplicated many times in many areas."

Turning to the problem of party bureaucracy, Stein asks: "Have we made one iota of advance in developing Marxism-Leninism, applying it, interpreting it to the needs of our country? Or have we been deluged from certain quarters since the Convention with one word and one word only; reaffirm, reaffirm, reaffirm! Don't dare think! Don't dare ask, don't dare challenge, don't dare interpret!"

"Where in heaven," he asks, "since our Resolution on Hungary, have we ever again taken an analytical approach to events in the world and in the Soviet Union, without experiencing the most bitter resistance by Comrades Foster, Davis, and Dennis?"

Describing how Dennis, Robert Thompson and Davis tried to put the CP on record for the 12-party declaration by ramming a motion through the national administrative committee, Stein says, "Comrade Dennis comes in and presents the National Administrative Committee with a statement. 'We are not endorsing, comrades. All we are doing is hailing,' he says. 'All we are doing is greeting.'

**"All we are doing," Stein continues, "is indirectly endorsing the view that revisionism is the main danger. All we are doing is endorsing the view that this and the other are certain universal truths, etcetra, binding on all, otherwise you are revisionists."**

Assailing a proposal by Dennis for a Resident Board, Stein declares, "Well, let's take the vagueness out of it, Comrade Dennis! Put it on the table! You want a Secretariat to be re-established . . . a political secretariat. And maybe the same people that used to be the political secretariat before . . . That's what you want . . . a re-establishment of the bureaucracy as of old."

Extending the attack to Foster and Davis, Stein charges that as far as they are concerned, "Minority or majority doesn't matter. The minority can drive the majority out of the Party, and is doing it. Has been doing it for ten months."

Hammering at this basic issue, Stein continues: "The source of bureaucracy in the Communist Party is the idea that someone can do your thinking for you. That there is a Pope, that there are Cardinals — that's the source of bureaucracy. Once you accept that idea there can be no democracy! There can be no majority rule."

Stein then challenges Dennis on regroupment: "What do you mean by a holding operation? The differences here are between those of us who believe that this Party as it is, is for ever and more, the organization that will lead the American working class to Socialism, and those of us who believe that this party . . . can rebuild itself and become a powerful force in the struggles of today and in bringing about a Socialist regroupment in the United States, capable of leading American workers toward Socialism. It just so happens that the latter approach is the one we adopted at our Convention and at the July meeting of the National Committee."

# ...Venezuelan People Oust Dictator

(Continued from page 1)

**add two civilian members to the junta. The second step was the setting up of a 13-man cabinet. This was composed entirely of civilians save for one military man, Col. Castro Leon, who had led the unsuccessful New Year's day air force revolt against Jimenez. The junta is now composed of three military officers and two civilians.**

In attempts to placate the masses, the junta has promised prosecutions of the hated secret police for the torture and murder of political and trade union prisoners; the firing of the entire police force of the federal district of Caracas; and the holding of elections this year.

### HUNT DOWN POLICE

As in the Hungarian Revolution, a feature of the Venezuelan uprising has been the hatred of the police, particularly the secret agents. Summary vengeance was taken during the fighting and in the several days following on all known informers and members of the secret police that were caught. In one case a mob even invaded the Nicaraguan embassy and shot a secret police lieutenant who had sought asylum there. Adding to the crowd's fury was the fact that, before they were overwhelmed, the police killed sixty prisoners in their cells in the central police headquarters. Also found there were the chemically preserved and labelled limbs of former prisoners, some of them well-known opposition and union figures who had simply disappeared during the nine years of Jimenez' dictatorship.

### WALL STREET WORRIED

U.S. imperialism, which has more capital invested in Venezuela than in any other country except Canada, is extremely worried over Jimenez' downfall. This dictator was the joint creation of the U.S. oil companies and the State Department, both of whom backed the army coup of 1948 which overthrew political democracy in Venezuela. Jimenez has received unusually high honors from Washington, including the pinning of a U.S. medal on him by President Eisenhower. It is probably more than wishful thinking that makes the Wall Street Journal headline its main story (Jan. 28): "A Swing to the Left in Venezuela Could Bring Military Coup — Army Sulks in Background as Leftists' Power Rises."

**The fact is that by Wall Street standards the civilian Patriotic Junta is dangerously anti-imperialistic. It is a united front of four parties for the purpose of obtaining civilian government, elections and civil liberties. One of these is the Communist Party. Though it is the smallest of the four, its inclusion in the junta is for Washington like a red cloth to a bull. The largest party, Accion Democratica, is the party which won 80 percent of the votes in the 1948 elections and which was shortly thereafter overthrown with U.S. connivance.**

Even the moderate or center party, Republican Democratic Union (URD) is speaking out against U.S. imperialism's role in Venezuela. Upon his arrival from exile in New York, URD leader Jovito Villalba told a welcoming crowd of thousands at the Caracas airport that the U.S. favors tyrants and that "we have many matters to settle with it." He laid down as a condition of security for U.S. capital that it "respect our national sovereignty and the rights of our workers."

### GUATEMALA

Elsewhere in Latin America U.S. imperialism was suffering setbacks. The recent Guatemalan elections showed a definite defeat for Colonel Cruz Salazar, known as "Washington's candidate." It is believed that Salazar will combine his votes with those of rightist candidate Ydigoras, who throughout the campaign denounced him as a U.S. stooge. This move in the election, in which none of the three candidates received a majority, will prevent the Congress from choosing the candidate of the Revolutionary Party. That party's last elected president was Arbenz, who was overthrown by a U.S.-sponsored "revolt" headed by its late stooge Castillo Armas. **Indicative of the widespread resentment against U.S. manipulation of Guatemalan politics is the fact that the anti-Communist newspaper La Hora recently referred to the Latin American Division of the U.S. State Department as the "Colonial Office."**

# Political Action Debated At San Francisco Forum

By Leigh Ray

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 25 — Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in the 1952 elections, called for the building of a party of socialism to give the young people some hope to march on to the future. He was speaking at a meeting of the Independent Socialist Forum held here last night on the topic of "The Independent Voter in the '58 Election."

The speakers, besides Vincent Hallinan, were Philip Burton, Democratic Assemblyman from the 20th District, and Richard Lynden, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 6, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

There is no essential difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, Hallinan stated. "Neither is the better of two goods."

"The last four Secretaries of State, under two democrats and one Republican, have all been from the Mellon banking interests," he said. He closed with an appeal to those present not to turn back but to look to the future, a future of socialism.

Philip Burton maintained that the more fruitful work could be done within the Democratic Party. "We have practical tasks in the legislative field," he said and listed the necessity to increase unemployment compensation, pensions, the minimum wage and public works among these tasks. "We are not doing politics on Mars, but in California. We can remake the face of the Democratic Party as we want it."

Richard Lynden spoke of the quiescence of the labor movement and said that he could not see a mass turn to socialism or toward a labor or third party at this time. "American politics are on dead center," he said.

If the depression deepens and the present California drive for the "smash-the-union" bill meets any success; if the candidates of the Democrat and Republican parties do not take satisfactory positions on these problems facing the labor movement, then new leaders will come forward and it will be possible to move forward. "We must not be impatient," he said. "We must do a job in the labor movement and work there."

The discussion period centered around the possibilities of gaining something from the Democratic Party either by supporting them, working in the Young Democrats, or by voting for their candidates. In the discussion, Vincent Hallinan said that it would be better to be only a handful with a program to build a third party in the interests of all the American people than to bow down to parties dominated by a few monopoly capitalists which the record shows can go nowhere but to war and destruction.

# Calendar of Events

### Berkeley

Friday, Feb. 14, 8 P.M. Clinton Jencks will speak on "The Jencks Case and Civil Liberties." Ausp.: Jack London Club, YWCA Building, 2134 Allston Way, Berkeley, Calif.

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### Chicago

"Nightmare," an original play by Sol and Carol Blackman, followed by food, refreshments and dancing. Saturday, Feb. 8, 8:15 P.M. at 777 W. Adams. Contribution: $1.00. Students: 25c. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

Friday, Feb. 14, 8:15 P.M. "Prospects for American Labor In 1958." Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

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### New York

MILITANT LABOR FORUM CLASSES. Sundays, 5:30 P.M. through Feb. 16, "The Road to Socialism," Instructor, Daniel Roberts. Sundays, 7:15 P.M., "The Negro Struggle for Equality." Instructor, George Lavan. Mondays, 7 P.M. through Feb. 17. "The Soviet Union," Instructor, Murry Weiss. Mondays, 8:45 P.M. "Historical Materialism," Instructor, Vincent Copeland. All classes at 116 University Place.

Friday, Feb. 7, 8 P.M. Symposium and discussion on "Socialism and Ethics." Dick DeHaan, Doctoral Candidate in Philosophy, New School of Social Science; Tony Ramirez, Member of Youth Fellowship of Reconciliation; Paul Greenberg, Forum Chairman, East Side Guardian Club; Bert Deck, Editorial Board Member of the Young Socialist. (Organizations listed for identification only.) Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contribution 50c.

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### Philadelphia

"The Fight for Peace in the Sputnik Age." Speaker: Murry Weiss. Friday, Feb. 7, 8:30 P.M. at 1303 W. Girard Ave. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

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### San Francisco

Celebrate Negro History Week: Saturday, Feb. 8, 8:15 P.M. Bill Morgan will speak on Desegregation and the School Crisis. Ausp.: The Labor Forum. 1145 Polk St.

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### Twin Cities

John T. McManus, National Guardian General Mgr., speaks on "Why The Left Must Unite." Sunday, Feb. 9, 8 P.M. AFL Hall Rm B3, Minneapolis, 117 S.E. 4th St., Joint ausp.: Twin City Labor Forum and National Guardian Associates.

subscription $3 per year. $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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Vol. XXIII - No. 5 Monday, February 3, 1958

# How Much Say Do You Have?

By Jack Wright
Candidate for Seattle City Council

**Working people in America enjoy very little democracy — very little voice in deciding their own destinies.**

In government the interests of the working people are disregarded, for workers haven't even a party of their own.

They have no chance to vote on burning isues such as war and peace, nuclear tests, Jim Crow and witch-hunts. The most important questions of their lives — how they live, work, think, play — are in reality decided by others.

**We workers have even less democracy on the job.**

Orders from above determine the speed of our work, our methods of working, general shop conditions, length and time of relief periods and breaks (if any). They also determine the length and time for eating, who the foremen and supervisors shall be, penalties, etc. A hundred rules and regulations bind us, from morning till night. We are truly slaves, ruled by masters we never see.

NO UNION DEMOCRACY

**And, what is most appalling, in the one organization that workers can call their own — the trade unions — democracy is steadily vanishing.**

In some unions, especially those controlled by people like Dave Beck, democracy is completely non-existent. And in most other unions, democracy is a formality, a sham.

The rank-and-file unionist has no real say about major policy questions, no real freedom to choose and elect leadership, no opportunity to participate in negotiations, or even grievance processing.

American workers must realize that eliminating the labor fakers from union office and attaining union democracy is not a utopian dream, but a burning necessity.

Working people must win the right once again to run their own unions. This means more than the formal and purely procedural rights they now have, such as the right to vote on proposals submitted by the top union bureaucracy — with only limited discussion from the floor. Or the right to elect candidates for office — all of them approved by the machine. Or the right to vote acceptance of a contract in the face of threats and personal abuse if they don't.

**Workers must win the right to be intimately involved in all phases of negotiations, grievance processing, decisions on union policy, strike organization and choice of leadership.**

T-H MANACLES

But union democracy is impossible as long as the labor movement is manacled by laws like Taft-Hartley, the Smith Act, the Walter-McCarran Act, "right-to-work" laws and similar repressive legislation.

Union democracy is impossible when leaders become hysterical because of McClellan committee investigations and beat a shameful retreat, meekly bowing to their enemies and offering to cooperate with them in full!

The repressive laws and the cooperation of the labor bureaucrats in enforcing them prevent free discussion and free association among union members.

Radicals are ostracized and isolated, if not expelled outright. Tried-and-true union militants cannot speak their mind on the union floor. Foreign-born workers face deportation threats if they speak "out of turn." So the conservative bureaucratic leaders have their own way. They grovel before corporation and government officials but threaten and bully and intimidate the workers.

**There can be no union democracy under the present labor leadership. This leadership must be replaced not only with different people, but with different people with a different program — a program for militant economic action, for independence from government control and for independent labor political action.**

Unionists can free themselves of the heavy-handed rule of the bureaucrats to the same extent that they stop supporting capitalist politicians.

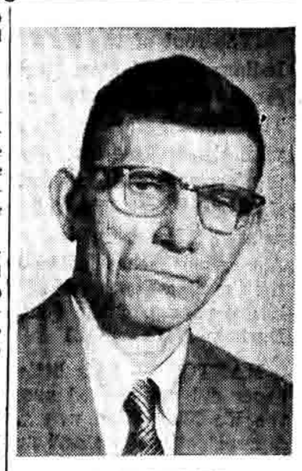
As the unions are independent, so shall they be free. As they are fighting organizations for the welfare of the membership, so shall they be democratic. The fight for union democracy is at the same time the fight against all anti-labor and anti-civil liberties laws.

**A real say in what goes on in the country — that is what every worker wants. But capitalism can never offer more than the semblance of it. It can never offer the real thing. Only socialism can provide it, for socialism means precisely the democratic rule of the working people.**

The road to the socialist future lies in the development of true democratic processes in all main avenues of life.

To stop the war-makers, the labor haters, the racists, and the thought-controllers we must fight for and win the democracy wherein we can genuinely express and satisfy our needs and interests.

**Concerted action of the working class and its allies, the working farmers and the Negro people, alone can achieve genuine democracy in America.**



JACK WRIGHT

## Get Important Backing

Shown with civil-liberties attorneys are the five young Spanish seamen who attempted to flee Franco's fascism by going to Mexico. U.S. immigration authorities intercepted them after they jumped ship in San Diego and are trying to deport them back to Fascist Spain. The Workers Defense League recently announced formation of a committee to aid them. On it are Norman Thomas, James B. Carey, Victor Reuther, Dwight Macdonald, Charles S. Zimmerman, Prof. Paul R. Hays and other labor liberal figures.

# John Gates' New Orientation

Elsewhere in this issue we carry a report of the essential contents of a series of six articles in the New York Post by John Gates, former editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker who recently resigned from the Communist Party.

In his last article Gates says he does not "profess to have all the answers." And he remarks, "After being so certain, and dogmatic, on most of what I did for a quarter of a century, I am not inclined to make hasty decisions." He further announces, "I want to talk with people — those who know me, and those who don't. I want to do some listening, some reflecting, some study."

We for our part welcome this approach by Gates and are ready to do everything in our power to promote and develop a free and fraternal discussion of the problems and issues that confront, not only Gates and his associates, but the entire American radical movement.

There are thousands of actively oriented radical workers who have left the Communist Party and its periphery who are eagerly listening to the discussion and seeking answers to their problem. It is clear that the discussion and struggle within the Communist Party itself is far from over; on the contrary, it appears to be entering a more acute and feverish stage There are in addition organized tendencies like the Socialist Workers Party. Then there is a definite circle of readers and a formation of opinion around the National Guardian, perhaps the most numerous of all the groups, and around other radical periodicals.

Obviously the task is to promote continuing discussion and efforts to reach agreement on common actions among all these forces.

We cannot agree with Gates on many of the views he expressed in his Post article. For example, we think it is misleading and false to seek the source of all the evils in the Communist Party in its alleged past "sectarianism" and to depict the CP's support of American capitalism during World War II and the Browder period as the golden era that American radicalism should return to. We believe that Stalinism, which is essentially a virulent form of opportunist class collaboration, is the root of the evil that derailed the radical workers movement in the U.S. and throughout the world.

We also feel that Gates fails to approach the crisis of American radicalism from the starting point of the irreconcilable division between those who seek to accomodate "socialism" to the U.S. State Department's demagogy about the "free world," and those, among whom Gates is included, who take their point of departure from the need to resolve the crisis of the socialist movement within the framework of working class opposition to U.S. Big Business foreign policy.

However, these differences with Gates only underscore the need for discussion and a determined effort to understand one another's point of view without prejudice or bitter recriminations.

# Reuther's Latest Gimmick

Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers president, claims his "profit-sharing" plan is designed primarily to increase the workers' purchasing-power. This, in turn, Reuther contends, will stimulate the economy. And prosperity will once more spread over the land.

Assuming Reuther's economic theorizing is correct, that an increase in purchasing power will do what he says it will, the question then is — why doesn't Reuther fight for increased purchasing power?

Reuther's "profit-sharing" plan is, at best, only a wage-deferment plan. Even if the workers were to receive a bonus, they would have to wait for more than a year to collect it. This is a postponement of "increased purchasing power." And could such a bonus even begin to compensate for the millions of dollars in purchasing power that would be lost in the meantime as a result of auto layoffs?

Essentially, Reuther is telling companies — never mind a big wage increase now. Things are tough. We won't make things tougher. We'll give up those demands we thought of making which would immediately increase the workers' purchasing power. We won't ask for a 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay. And you can reward us sometime in the future if our sacrifices now yield you a profit greater than 10%.

If at the end of the year the auto barons, by laying off workers, keeping car prices high and getting tax concessions from the government, gather in a big enough profit and can't conceal it all (for their records are still a closed book), then the workers would get a bonus.

In the meantime, not having to pay this sum out in weekly paychecks, the companies would accumulate it, invest it, and make an extra sum in interest. This is what the "Big Three" did with the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (remember when it was called the Guaranteed Annual Wage?). Up to last November the "Big Three" had paid out less than $11 million in SUB funds. At the same time the companies made a profit of some $7 million in interest on the SUB funds they "hold" for the workers.

Reuther's "profit-sharing" gimmick is an even worse pig in a poke — that is assuming the poke isn't completely empty.

# Victory After a 22-Year Fight

**(The Supreme Court decision last December overruling deportation proceedings against Charles Rowoldt marked another important legal victory in the fight against the witch-hunt. Abner Green, Executive Secretary, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, reviewed the history of the case in a Jan. 10 press release, which we print below. — Ed.)**

JAN. 10 — Some day next week, the mandate of the United States Supreme Court will be entered in the records of the Federal District Court in Minneapolis, bringing to an end the government's attempt to deport Charles Rowoldt to his native Germany.

The government started deportation proceedings against Charles Rowoldt 22 years ago. After 22 years of relentless persecution, harassment, questioning, deportation hearings, threats and intimidation — it is now established that the whole thing was a mistake and conceded that the government should not have treated Charles Rowoldt in the manner that it did.

The story of Charles Rowoldt is not an unusual one insofar as many immigrants in the United States are concerned. A large number of non-citizens were subjected to similar harassment and threats by the Justice Department, especially during the years of the post-Second World War hysteria.

SIX MONTHS IN CP

Born in Germany in 1884, Charles Rowoldt emigrated to the United States with his wife in 1914. His wife died in 1918 following the birth of their son. In 1930, his son died of acute appendicitis. Rowoldt moved to Minneapolis, where he has lived ever since. Unable to find work during the depression years, Rowoldt was helped by the Unemployment Council to get relief and he became active in the unemployed movement. In 1935, he became secretary of the Hennepin County local of the Workers Alliance. That same year, he joined the Communist Party and remained a member for about six months.

On Feb. 5, 1936, Charles Rowoldt was arrested for deportation to Germany on the charge of membership in the Communist Party. That was the beginning of the Rowoldt case for Charles Rowoldt as well as for the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which has defended him these 22 years.

Rowoldt's deportation proceedings were halted by the outbreak of the Second World War and the proceedings were stayed by the Justice Department during the war years. Then, in the course of the post-World War II hysteria, Rowoldt was again arrested in 1948.

Charles Rowoldt was ordered deported for a second time in 1949. But, following a Supreme Court decision that the Justice Department had failed to provide non-citizens with fair deportation hearings as required by law, Rowoldt had to go through a third deportation proceeding in 1951 and was ordered deported a third time in 1954.

Then, suddenly, one morning in March 1955 — without any prior notice or warning — Charles Rowoldt was arrested in his home at 7:00 A.M. by two immigration agents and taken to the County jail. He was told that he would be sent to New York that afternoon by airplane and that he would be placed on a boat for Germany the following day.

The Immigration Service moved against Charles Rowoldt at 7:00 o'clock in the morning, and tried to rush him out of Minneapolis and then out of the country, in order to prevent him from testing the legality of his deportation.

Fortunately, Rowoldt succeeded in getting word to a friend and only emergency court action by the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born prevented Charles Rowoldt's deportation on that day in March 1955. The Committee's attorney got a Federal judge to sign an order staying the deportation until the deportation order could be tested in the courts. Rowoldt was released meanwhile in $5,000 bail.

Later in 1955 the Federal District Court sustained Rowoldt's deportation, as did the Federal Court of Appeals in St. Louis. An appeal was filed with the United States Supreme Court in January 1956.

In March 1956, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the Rowoldt appeal. The case was argued in October 1956. In June 1957, the Supreme Court ordered that the case be reargued and it was reargued in October 1957. Then, on Dec. 9, the Supreme Court ruled that the record in the Rowoldt case did not warrant deportation; that, while Charles Rowoldt had been a member of the Communist Party, the character of the association was such that it should not subject him to deportation.

Charles Rowoldt is now 73 years old. For the first time in 22 years, he knows that he can live in the United States — after having been ordered deported three different times, after having been once snatched from his bed and only 24 hours away from a deportation boat, after countless threats and endless harassment by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

To Charles Rowoldt, those 22 years are lost and nothing could make up to him the suffering and tensions to which he was so unnecessarily subjected. His sole consolation is that, as a result of his suffering, the democratic rights of foreign born Americans have been advanced. Some day, as a result of decisions in cases such as those of Charles Rowoldt, the foreign born will see an end to Justice Department harassment and an end to the undemocratic treatment to which they are subjected as a result of the police-state provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law.

# Lamont's Basic Pamphlet On 'The Right to Travel'

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL. By Corliss Lamont. 1957. 41 pp., 10 cents, Basic Pamphlets, (Box 42, Cathedral Station, N. Y. 25, N. Y.)

**In this little pamphlet Corliss Lamont, the humanist scholar and civil liberties champion, succinctly gives the history of what used to be the American citizen's right to travel and the high points in the current battle to restore that right.**

The right to travel traces back in Anglo-American law to Magna Carta forced from King John of England in 1215. One of its provisions stated: "It shall be lawful in future, unless in time of war, for anyone to leave and return to our kingdom safely and securely by land and water . . . ." This fundamental freedom remained inviolate in the United States until 1947. Indeed for generations Americans could travel abroad without any passport. When, prior to World War I, a few European countries began to require visitors to carry passports, they were issued by the U.S. State Department as a convenience to Americans going abroad and were merely certificates of identification and citizenship. Today, of course, they have become a prerequisite to travel.

RIGHT ABOLISHED

But the U.S. government, in the course of the present witch hunt, has declared that Americans have no **right** to travel — merely a privilege to be granted or withheld as the State Department sees fit. As the author points out, "even though comparatively few Americans are directly affected, the Secretary of State is indirectly warning millions of others in a well-publicized way: 'Unless you abrogate your First Amendment rights of association and expression, and go easy on criticizing government policies — especially in the sphere of foreign relations — you will receive no passport.' In this way the State Department helps to pressure the American people into political conformity; for not many Americans want to risk losing the opportunity of going abroad."

**Lamont shows how the State Department's refusal of passports on political grounds to alleged radicals, liberals and even to some conservatives, who entertain critical opinions of U.S. foreign policy, violates the First, Fifth and Ninth Amendments to the Constitution.** He lays bare the devices by which the State Department has revoked and by ruse seized passports and traces the slow, civil-liberties battle against this violation of freedom. The legal points scored in the cases of Dr. Otto Nathan, Max Shachtman, Leonard Boudin, W. E. B. DuBois, Rockwell Kent, Linus Pauling, Donald Ogden Stewart and numerous others are briefly summarized.

Also analyzed is the State Department's campaign to muzzle the press by refusal of passports to reporters desiring to go to China. William Worthy, a correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, challenged this dictate and had his passport invalidated as a result. The pressure of public opinion and of the publishers' organizations has forced Dulles into a partial backtracking, which concedes nothing in principle, on this particular issue. Currently the defiance by a number of American students who visited China last summer has resulted in a number of other test cases.

For a brief yet comprehensive account of the constitutional and civil liberties aspects of this important sector of the fight against the witch hunt and of the legal victories and defeats so far registered, this little booklet well lives up to the name of the series of which it is number ten — a basic pamphlet.

**It should be noted that Lamont is no mere observer of this particular battle. He is a principal in a vital legal challenge of the current passport regulations. This case, which he describes in the present work, completed its first step on its journey to the Supreme Court on Jan. 13, when a federal district judge ruled adversely. It will now be appealed to the U.S. Circuit Court.**

—John Thayer

# Messages Tell of Sorrow Over Laura Gray Death

**(The following are excerpts of letters and telegrams expressing sorrow over the death of Laura Gray, Militant staff artist, who died on January 11. They are from Socialist Workers Party branches, from individuals and from other socialist organizations. — Editor.)**

To many comrades, to many workers outside our ranks, the name of Laura Gray has always been coupled with the Militant. She was an integral part of every issue.

Now that she is gone, our paper will never be the same. Someone else will come forth to do its cartoons, but the inimitable touch of Comrade Laura will not be replaced.

**Buffalo**

* * *

We who have watched for her vivid, thought-provoking cartoons will miss her more than words can say.

Therefore we renew our pledge, and will strive the harder, to build a world in which war, hunger and disease will not be known. This, we believe, is what Laura would want us all to do.

**Pittsburgh**

* * *

We add her name to our honored list of comrades who have fallen in the struggle and we pledge anew our efforts to achieve the socialist society for which she gave her life.

**Oakland and Berkeley**

* * *

The death of Comrade Laura Gray touches us closely. A great loss to us, to the movement and to our paper. We felt we knew her well, we understood her; and she knew us . . . In Comrade Gray we have lost that rare artist who had given her great talents to the working class.

**Milwaukee**

LAURA GRAY

* * *

We mourn with you the loss of our beloved comrade, Laura Gray . . . In all fields of activity, she was anxious to serve. In one field she ranks among the best produced by the American revolutionary movement . . . Our Laura will not be forgotten.

**Chicago**

* * *

We were shocked to hear that Laura Gray has died. A terrible loss to the American working class — and to the Militant. For some time now I have intended to suggest to you that you consider the publication of a selection of her cartoons in pamphlet form. I am sure were you to take the first steps that we would be in a position to help finance such a project. What more fitting memorial could we devise? We are looking forward to hearing from you on this suggestion.

**Toronto, Canada**

* * *

It is sad to have to write a message on the death of a comrade. But when death strikes down a gifted comrade like Laura Gray we felt the loss doubly. We shall miss the gentle, considerate comrade we all loved and admired — and we shall miss the voice of social protest and socialist struggle that spoke for all of us through her brilliant cartoons in the Militant.

**Newark**

* * *

Please accept sympathy of the entire . . . branch for loss of dedicated party worker.

**St. Louis**

* * *

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International received as a grievous blow the announcement of the death of Comrade Laura Gray, a courageous militant in the domain of Marxist revolutionary ideas for many years.

In the name of all our organizations, we salute with emotion the memory of the inspired artist and the revolutionary militant that Laura Gray was.

**Paris, France**

# Law Firm Files Brief For 32 Foreign Born

**JAN. 30 — The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born has announced the filing of an "Amici Curiae" brief with the U.S. Supreme Court in behalf of 32 naturalized citizens whose citizenship was attacked by the Justice Department.** These cases will all be affected by the court's decision in the case of Stanley Nowak of Detroit which is now before it.

All 32 cases are instances of persecution of the foreign born on the grounds of their past or present political views, in clear violation of constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press and free assembly. The brief was filed by the New York law firm of Donner, Kinoy and Perlin and accepted by the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile a victory was announced by the Foreign Born Committee in the case of Leon Callow of Cleveland. Since 1935 this man has been persecuted for Communist Party affiliation in the years from 1928 to 1931. Father of eight American-born children, Callow lost his job in a steel mill and suffered many difficulties in getting employment because of the deportation proceedings.

**On Dec. 23 Federal District Court Judge Jones of Cleveland ordered the proceedings cancelled, pointing out that the charges were insufficient grounds to sustain a deportation order.**

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# THE MILITANT

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## The Negro Struggle

### How Negroes Helped Lumbee Indians

[The rout of the KKK by the Lumbee Indians near Maxton, North Carolina, has caught the imagination of the whole world. That the Negroes of the area cooperated with the Indians and were in reserve as reinforcements if needed, is a highly significant fact. The following story, reprinted almost in its entirety, is by Alexander Barnes in the Jan. 25 issue of the Carolina Times, one of the outstanding Negro papers of the South, published in Durham, N. C. — Ed.]

MAXTON — This little farming town never did get excited over the fact that the Ku Klux Klan was going to hold a demonstration here and neither were the Negro citizens alarmed over the fact that the Lumbee Indians had vowed to break it up.

A check of the Negroes as late as last night (Tuesday) revealed that they had been informed earlier what was going to happen and at one time had been invited to take part.

An Indian leader called upon a few of the outstanding Negroes on Friday night and told them that they were not looking for a fight with the Kluxers, but if they (the KKK) staged a demonstration in or near Maxton, they would really have a fight on their hands.

The Negroes readily agreed with the Indians and told them they were with them 100%. The Indian leader told them they would be notified if their help was needed.

It was not long before he returned to the Negroes and told them that they were well fortified, but would like to have their moral support. The Indian leader expressed fear that the Klan might get the jump and meet Friday night. It was then that he told the Negroes that they were going to the scene of the proposed meeting to get the "lay of the land." He said that if the Negroes wanted to they could come along.

The Indians arrived at the proposed site early Friday night and it was not long before five carloads of Negroes also arrived. Both groups were well armed. After it was determined that the Klan would not appear Friday night, everybody went home and waited for Saturday night.

This writer talked with several local citizens, and it was established that practically every Negro in or near Maxton was at the scene Friday night. They were armed according to reports. . . .

The Negroes and the Indians enjoy a good relationship here and in the county. The two races have mixed for years without serious trouble and members of both often visit the homes of one another.

They have joined in many issues affecting the county, and in many instances have voted the same political ticket, a move which insured the winning of a public office by an Indian in the last city election. A Negro missed the city council by only a few votes in that election.

## Look at the Bright Side

By Joyce Cowley

The thousands of workers who have been laid off in the past few months probably consider unemployment a misfortune. They take a pessimistic view of the immediate future and fail to see anything positive in the situation. (I never did either when I was hanging around employment agencies, or tramping from one to the other in a futile search of work.) **Those not directly affected can be "impartial," look on the bright side, and even predict that compensating factors, like moral strength, will result from the present slump in jobs.**

Take, for example, Babson's Salescaster of Dec. 31, a weekly bulletin which forecasts and analyzes economic trends. The feature article, "Take a Sane Look at the Future," condemns "loose careless talk about recession and depression." This is followed up by an explanation of Newton's law of action and reaction, which applied to economics means that "there will be periods of good times followed by equivalent periods of poor times which will, in turn, be followed again by good times."

MARKET WENT DOWN; NOT UP

Only a short time ago, the Salescaster points out, it was a common assumption that wages and the stock market would go up endlessly: "Companies were fighting for college graduates at the highest salary starts ever. Today, however, many of last June's graduates are already unemployed; the basic steel industry has dropped operations to below 70% of capacity, carloadings are down nearly 20%, and the stock market is off about 100 points in the Dow Industrial Average."

But this is O.K. It will reassure those graduates, as well as unemployed workers without a degree, to learn that it all fits in with Newton's law of action and reaction. A "reaction" is perfectly normal and there is no need for panic. "The realist knew this must happen. This is life under a free economy."

The article cheerfully concludes that things are not so bad, right now unemployment compensation will help offset "leaner purses" and by next fall, with the exhaustion of inventories and the impetus of defense spending, the "reaction" will peter out and an upward trend will set in once again.

There may be more than five million people unemployed during this reaction period, but — "Actually, it may well have a very healthy, sobering effect on both workers and management. Perhaps workers will come to realize they must give management a little more honest effort for a day's pay. . . . Perhaps, too, we shall all be awakened to the realization that all values cannot be reduced to the dollar sign. A few months of reaction may well start us thinking, with the result that we shall wind up morally stronger individuals and a stronger nation. Our long-term economic outlook can be nothing less than excellent!"

EVERYTHING IS FOR THE BEST. . .

If you are about to lose your home or your car because you can't meet the payments — if your menu planning consists mainly of thinking up new ways to serve hamburger (when you can afford that) — if the pavement is starting to push up through the soles of your shoes as you keep walking, asking and hoping, don't get in a panic about it. Just bear in mind that in our capitalist economy this is a perfectly normal period of reaction.

As the Salescaster says, it may start you thinking. Does it really make sense to cut back production while so many people lack elementary necessities and could use a few luxuries, too? Isn't it dangerous, in the age of the H-bomb, to depend on war production to pull us out of depressions? Does sanity consist in accepting depressions, unemployment and war as inevitable, instead of trying to change the economic system that creates them? Can we build a different type of economy in which plannig and cooperation replace the competitive anarchy of capitalism?

**I base my own optimism about our long-term economic outlook on the answers that unemployed workers will give to these questions.**

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

**IF AMERICA SHOULD GO COMMUNIST. By Leon Trotsky. 21 pp. 25 cents. Pioneer Pocket Pamphlet No. 7.**

This article originally appeared in Liberty magazine in 1935. It discusses what life would be like in a socialist America and what the possibilities are of that coming about. An introduction by Robert Chester analyzes the article's merits in the light of the events since it was written as well as its pertinence to today's problems.

* * *

**RUSSIAN YOUTH AWAKES —An Eyewitness Report. By Maurice Pelter. 14 pp. 10 cents.**

This pamphlet from Great Britain by a young man of political perspicacity, who attended the Youth Festival in Moscow last summer, gives the most startling and illuminating account of the present frame of mind of Soviet students and intellectuals.

* * *

**SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. By James P. Cannon. 111 pp., 50 cents.**

A historical document of importance that is at the same time exciting reading. This is the official court record of the direct cross-examination of the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party at America's first Smith Act trial — the famous Minneapolis Labor Case.

* * *

**THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN. By James Kutcher. 178 pp. $1.00.**

The protagonist of one of America's most dramatic civil-liberties cases tells his story. This is more than an account of the witch-hunt firing of the double amputee and his eight-year fight. It is a social document about growing up in the depression years and soldiering in the bloodiest campaigns of World War II.

* * *

**STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM. By Leon Trotsky. 29 pp. 15 cents.**

Is Stalinism a logical and necessary outgrowth of Bolshevism? Or is it a negation of Bolshevism? A masterful analysis of the question by the co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution.

* * *

**AMERICAN STALINISM AND ANTI-STALINISM. By James P. Cannon. 48 pp. 15 cents.**

Written before the semi-repudiation of Stalin in the USSR and in the American Communist Party, this pamphlet discusses the need for a clear policy of anti-Stalinism by socialists and at the same time shows the reactionary character of the red-baiting being carried on by social-democrats, liberals and labor bureaucrats under pretense of anti-Stalinism.

* * *

**REGROUPMENT — A Programmatic Basis for Discussion of Socialist Unity. 8 pp. 10 cents.**

An analysis of the present situation confronting those socialist-minded workers who wish to break down the barriers which heretofore have isolated workers in the various radical organizations from one another. It presents a practical program of steps to facilitate the discussion for a regrouping of socialist forces in present-day America. This is a statement officially adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.


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# Ford 600 Upholds 30 For 40

(The following statement appearing on the front page of the Jan. 25 issue of Ford Facts.)

Since 1951 Local 600 has fought for "30 for 40" with increased take-home pay. This demand was reaffirmed unanimously by the Local 600 Executive Board at its meeting January 7, the General Council at its meeting of January 12, and the committeemen's meetings held January 16, 1958.

The 1955 U.A.W. convention voted: "To place the winning of the shorter work week at the top of our union's collective bargaining agenda after the guaranteed wage has been achieved."

The 1957 U.A.W. convention voted: "To make the shorter work week, with increased take-home pay needed to expand purchasing power, the next major collective bargaining objective of our union."

The more than 8,000 laid-off from the Ford Rouge Plant, the 150,000 unemployed in Detroit, the 250,000 jobless in Michigan, the 4-million without jobs in the U.S.A. and all of those now working who fear that they too may lose their jobs as a result of the growing depression, believe that the quickest way to provide more jobs is by establishing the shorter work week with increased take-home pay.

Towards this end we call upon the delegates to the 1958 U.A.W. Special Convention to implement the actions of the 1955 and 1957 convention by establishing as a major contract demand in the 1958 negotiations a shorter work week with increased take-home pay.

## Show Solidarity

**Headed by two-year-old Jimmy Denmark, wives and children of striking bus drivers in Los Angeles parade their solidarity with husbands. Demonstration was in answer to unsigned letters in newspapers purportedly from wives of strikers denouncing the walk-out.**

# Shorter Week Is Issue In Los Angeles Strike

**LOS ANGELES, Jan. 24 — The longest transit strike in this city's history ended today. After fighting for 54 days 1,200 members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen voted by a skinny 21-vote margin to accept a compromise settlement.** Their chief demand had been for reduction of the 48-hour work week to 40 hours with a rise in pay to $2.50 an hour.

The settlement accepted provides for the 40-hour week but with the base pay raised from $2.06 per hour only to $2.16. Next Dec. 1, by which time the rescheduling to the 40-hour week will have been completed, an additional raise will bring the base rate to $2.27 per hour. Thus a 40-hour week, without overtime, will now bring but $86.40 take home pay, whereas the old 48-hour week brought $98.88. Next December the 40-hour week, without overtime, will bring $90.80.

Fringe benefits in the two-year contract include double-time, in place of time-and-a-half, for holiday work and eight hours' straight pay for holidays not worked. Previously the men got nothing for holidays not worked. **Men will be eligible for retirement now after 25 years rather than 30; the company will now pay the full cost of the health and welfare plan; and men with 10 years' seniority will get three instead of two-week vacations.**

UN forces in South Korea are equipped with atomic artillery, according to a Jan. 29 dispatch from Seoul.

# Wright Interviews Seattle's Fire Chief On Discrimination

By Jack Wright
Socialist Candidate for Seattle City Council

SEATTLE, Jan. 22 — A volunteer committee composed of Mr. Hubert R. Dewitty, a prominent community leader, Mr. Richard Fraser, a member of my campaign committee, and myself, yesterday called on Mr. Fitzgerald, Seattle Fire Chief. **We asked him two questions: (1) "Why are there no Negroes on the Fire Department?" (2) "Have any Negroes made application for employment?"**

To the first question Mr. Fitzgerald stated, "I have no jurisdiction over the examination or selection of Fire Department personnel. When I need firemen I requisition them from the Civil Service Commission which examines all applicants and sends me those who qualify." He said further that during his 20 or more years as Fire Chief no Negroes had been qualified by the Civil Service Commission and that therefore none had reached his department.

Mr. Fitzgerald also said, "I am not opposed to hiring Negroes on this Department. On the contrary, I should welcome them and assure you that they would receive the same treatment as anyone else." In answer to the second question he stated that to the best of his knowledge very few Negroes had made application for jobs on the Fire Department.

The following day Mr. Palm of the Civil Service Commission was visited and asked the same questions. He stated that the reason no Negroes had ever been qualified by the Commission was that they could not meet the educational requirements.

**This did not seem reasonable to me because many Negroes had passed the tests for the Police Department. Mr. Palm agreed that it was strange because the educational qualifications were identical.**

Mr. Palm said, "You must admit that Negroes have made considerable advancement in the last years." To this I replied that they certainly had; but they had done it the hard way, mostly by their own efforts, and it would surely be much easier for them if public officials would lend a helping hand. Mr. Palm replied he did not know why more of them did not make application for the Fire Department. I answered that after 46 years of bumping their heads against reality, Negroes were most likely discouraged in making attempts to get into the Department.

Our volunteer committee feels certain that a discriminatory double standard is being applied by the Civil Service Commission. This deprives Negroes and other minority groups of their rights under the City Charter. **We are pledged to see this thing through and we are not going to kill this cat by choking it with cream.**


(See "How Much Say Do You Have?" by Jack Wright, page 3.)


## Dr. Jay W. Friedman Endorses Socialist

**Dr. Jay W. Friedman, National Committee member of the American Forum for Socialist Education, gave his endorsement to socialist candidate, Jack Wright, for the Seattle City Council. Wishing candidate Wright "courage and success," Dr. Friedman attacked the "immorality, malethics and impracticality of the Republican - Democratic coalition" which has "failed to secure peace, to stabilize the economy, and to develop healthy programs for the elimination of our social, economic, physical and mental ills. The nation is in dire need of alternatives. . ."**

**Dr. Friedman also wrote in his letter to candidate Wright that "my endorsement of your candidacy does not constitute endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party per se." He advocated unity of all socialists in election work rather than "championing any particular organization."**

# ...Major Auto Locals Hit Reuther Scheme


(Continued from page 1)


**ther's proposals was by show of hand, with each delegate casting but one vote, regardless how many workers he represented. The opposition failed to muster the 800 individual-delegate votes necessary to force a roll-call.**

JOBLESS NOT PRESENT

The conference was held in a hall barely large enough for all the delegates so that the thousands of unemployed Detroit auto workers could not attend as visitors. Room was made, however, for at least one of Reuther's paid International representatives to sit with each delegation.

The debate on the collective bargaining demands was spirited and lasted six hours, although speakers from the floor were limited to five minutes each and Reuther kept interjecting his remarks from the chair between the speakers.

While Reuther and his supporters spoke of the necessity of winning "public opinion," the opposition delegates stressed the need to win the active support of the unemployed, and of the ranks of the union generally, who need an inspiring demand like 30 for 40 to rally around.

"This is the first convention I have attended in 20 years," said Ford Local 600 president Carl Stellato, "where every delegate who has taken the floor has talked about the problem of unemployment . . ." He said, "the unemployed cannot turn to GM, Ford and Chrysler, or Washington or President Eisenhower. They can turn only to the union. Unless we do something more constructive than we propose ["profit sharing"] we will be turning our backs on those unemployed."

LIKE '43 PROPOSAL

Stellato confined his statements to the shorter work week and did not attack the profit-sharing scheme itself. He called for a referendum vote on the issue. Other delegates pointed out that the profit-sharing scheme would pit workers in different corporations against each other. Ernest Mazey, Chrysler Local 212, said, "I was terribly disappointed by what I consider to be a glorified incentive plan that we rejected in 1943."

Paul Silver, president of Detroit Local 351, the only member of the resolutions committee who might have been expected to bring in a minority report, failed to do so. He supported Reuther's scheme, with the lame excuse that the shorter work week was still on the 1958 agenda because the workers could vote to use their share of profits in the form of shorter hours. His statement was booed by a number of opposition delegates.

**John Davito of Cleveland GM Local 45 referred to the "hot words in April and the cold blast in January," and said that if all the workers put in 24 hours a day for the next year and contributed all their pay, it would not help raise a U. S. Sputnik one inch off the ground.**

(This was a reference to Reuther's original argument that dropping the shorter work-week demand was necessary in light of the Soviet Sputnik and the consequent need for increased production in the U. S. However, Reuther did not repeat this argument at the convention. Instead he argued that 1958 would be a tough year for labor and the UAW should not antagonize "public opinion" by making demands that might be branded as inflationary.)

A CAPITALISTIC TRICK?

Robert Lopez, GM Local 664, Tarrytown, N.Y., said the economic recession was a further argument for the shorter work-week rather than an argument against it, as a number of Reuther's floor supporters contended. John McCarrell, GM Local 544, Pittsburgh, Pa., reported that he had remained at his local hall when he read the newspaper reports that Reuther had dropped the shorter week demand. He said he told the members who demanded an explanation "not to believe the capitalistic newspapers, that it was a GM trick."

The manner in which Reuther handled the speed-up issue was further evidence of the growing gap between the leadership and the ranks. The importance of this issue, which the Dodge Local 3 rank-and-file delegation (see text of its leaflet, page four) had helped raise to a position of first importance at the April convention, was stated convincingly by a delegate from American Motors Local 75 in Milwaukee.

**He pointed to 20-year standards in his shop which were being lost because of production standards at GM. He noted that the company was often willing to grant a wage increase if, in return, management were allowed to more than compensate for it through the speed-up.**

As at the last convention, the speed-up resolution was left for the tail end of the sessions, when two thirds of the delegates had left the hall. Chairman Reuther simply refused to recognize the strongest opposition spokesmen in this debate. Budd Local 306, Chrysler Local 212, and Dodge Local 3, have already voted to support demands for a roll back at corporations like GM or for the establishment of industry-wide production standards. But delegates from these locals who wanted to ask for inclusion of their demands in the resolution were simply not given the floor.

When challenged by a delegate from Diesel Local 163, Reuther said that "the problem is to get GM workers to fight," and that when they are ready, he will authorize strike action.

RELIES ON ARMS BUDGET

Running through Reuther's numerous speeches at this convention, like a blood-red thread, was his reliance on armaments spending to provide full employment. Thus the resolution on unemployment puts "defense contracts" ahead of public works as methods for alleviating unemployment. The first words in this resolution are: "Whereas: The free world must fully grasp the dimension of the world challenge . . ." Time and again during the convention Reuther spoke of the "need" for more military strength.

It is symptomatic of the extent to which the UAW has retreated under Reuther from its once proud position as the most progressive mass force in America, that the question of prosperity based on peace, not war, was raised by only two delegates, Charles Brooks and Victor White, both from Canada.

**Nevertheless, the gap which is already widening between the UAW ranks and the officialdom under the pressure of unemployment and speed-up can be expected sooner or later to encompass the great issues of war and peace as well. The question of how soon the strained ties will break, depends upon the emergence of a courageous, determined and well-organized opposition, which recognizes the historic importance of the stakes which are now on the table.**

## Dodge Group on 30-for-40

**(We reprint below the text of a leaflet entitled "Rank and File Delegates of Dodge Local 3 Back the Fight for 30 for 40" distributed at the special convention of the United Auto Workers held in Detroit last week. — Ed.)**

With thousands of Dodge workers idle, and mass unemployment on the increase among UAW members throughout the country, we say that we must win the shorter work week in '58.

The four million unemployed in America today, with a possible eight million in the near future, stand before us as living testimony to the greed of the corporations for super profits. At the same time, these figures indicate that the fight for jobs through the shortening of the work week must take precedence over any other economic demand. To drop this demand would mean turning our backs on our jobless brothers and sisters.

We cannot agree with the thinking of the International Executive Board which points to the economic slump on the one hand and the Soviet Sputnik on the other as reason to defer action on the shorter work week.

**We were convinced in April in Atlantic City, and we are convinced now when we say that 30 for 40 plus increased take home pay is the beginning of the solution to unemployment.**

Our Rank and File delegation has also considered the share-the-profit proposal which the International Executive Board is apparently offering as a substitute for 30 for 40.

**It is our unanimous opinion that this demand offers nothing to the jobless worker.** For the worker who is still employed, it is dressed up incentive plan which can set Chrysler workers competing with Ford workers and with GM workers.

AND ON SPEED-UP

Auto workers, and most recently the Chrysler workers, have had a belly-full of the attitude which encourages one group of workers to compete with another. That is why we ask that the convention also take action to establish uniform production standards throughout the industry, based upon the best prevailing; and that production workers councils be set up to determine and police these standards.

We, of the Dodge Rank and File delegation, know that our problems and attitudes are shared by a great many other delegates. We urge a joint fight to reaffirm the just and necessary program adopted by us last April in Atlantic City.

RANK AND FILE DELEGATION
Dodge Local 3